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AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT, &c.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL TRADITIONS OF THE INDIANS.

THE Lenni Lenape (according to the traditions handed down to them by their ancestors) resided many hundred years ago, in a very distant country in the western part of the American continent. For some reason, which I do not find accounted for, they determined on migrating to the eastward, and accordingly set out together in a body. After a very long journey, and many night's encampments* by the way, they at length arrived on the *Namæsi Sipu*,† where they fell in with the Mengwe,‡ who had likewise emigrated from a distant country, and had struck upon this river somewhat higher up. Their object was the same with that of the Delawares; they were proceeding on to the eastward, until they should find a country that pleased them. The spies which the Lenape had sent forward for the purpose of reconnoitring, had long before their arrival discovered that the country east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation who had many large towns built on the great rivers flowing through their land. Those people (as I was told) called themselves *Tulligeu* or *Talligewi*. Colonel John Gibson, however, a gentleman who has a thorough knowledge of the Indians, and speaks several of their lan-

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* "Night's encampment," is a halt of one year at a place.

† The Mississippi, or *River* of *Fish*; *Namæs*, a *Fish*; *Sipu*, a *River*.

‡ The Iroquois, or Five Nations.

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guages, is of opinion that they were not called *Talligewi*, but *Alligewi*, and it would seem that he is right, from the traces of their name which still remain in the country, the Allegheny river and mountains having indubitably been named after them. The Delawares still call the former *Alligéwi Sipu*, the River of the Alligewi. We have adopted, I know not for what reason, its Iroquois name, Ohio, which the French had literally translated into *La Belle Riviere*, The Beautiful River.* A branch of it, however, still retains the ancient name Allegheny.

Many wonderful things are told of this famous people. They are said to have been remarkably tall and stout, and there is a tradition that there were giants among them, people of a much larger size than the tallest of the Lenape. It is related that they had built to themselves regular fortifications or entrenchments, from whence they would sally out, but were generally repulsed. I have seen many of the fortifications said to have been built by them, two of which, in particular, were remarkable. One of them was near the mouth of the river Huron, which empties itself into the Lake St. Clair, on the north side of that Lake, at the distance of about 20 miles N. E. of Detroit. This spot of ground was, in the year 1786, owned and occupied by a Mr. Tucker. The other works, properly entrenchments, being walls or banks of earth regularly thrown up, with a deep ditch on the outside, were on the Huron river, east of the Sandusky, about six or eight miles from Lake Erie. Outside of the gateways of each of these two entrenchments, which lay within a mile of each other, were a number of large flat mounds, in which, the Indian pilot said, were buried hundreds of the slain Talligewi, whom I shall hereafter with Col. Gibson call *Alligewi*. Of these entrenchments, Mr. Abraham Steiner, who was with me at the time when I saw them, gave a very accurate description, which was

* Loskiel's History of the Mission of the United Brethren, Part I. Chap. 1.

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published at Philadelphia, in 1789 or 1790, in some periodical work the name of which I cannot at present remember.

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When the Lenape arrived on the banks of the Mississippi, they sent a message to the Alligewi to request permission to settle themselves in their neighbourhood. This was refused them, but they obtained leave to pass through the country and seek a settlement farther to the eastward. They accordingly began to cross the Namæsi Sipu, when the Alligewi, seeing that their numbers were so very great, and in fact they consisted of many thousands, made a furious attack on those who had crossed, threatening them all with destruction, if they dared to persist in coming over to their side of the river. Fired at the treachery of these people, and the great loss of men they had sustained, and besides, not being prepared for a conflict, the Lenape consulted on what was to be done; whether to retreat in the best manner they could, or try their strength, and let the enemy see that they were not cowards, but men, and too high minded to suffer themselves to be driven off before they had made a trial of their strength, and were convinced that the enemy was too powerful for them. The Mengwe, who had hitherto been satisfied with being spectators from a distance, offered to join them, on condition that, after conquering the country, they should be entitled to share it with them; their proposal was accepted, and the resolution was taken by the two nations, to conquer or die.

Having thus united their forces, the Lenape and Mengwe declared war against the Alligewi, and great battles were fought, in which many warriors fell on both sides. The enemy fortified their large towns and erected fortifications, especially on large rivers, and near lakes, where they were successively attacked and sometimes stormed by the allies. An engagement took place in which hundreds fell, who were afterwards buried in holes or laid together in heaps and covered over with earth.

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No quarters were given, so that the Alligewi, at last, finding that their destruction was inevitable if they persisted in their obstinacy, abandoned the country to the conquerors, and fled down the Mississippi river, from whence they never returned. The war which was carried on with this nation, lasted many years, during which the Lenape lost a great number of their warriors, while the Mengwe would always hang back in the rear, leaving them to face the enemy. In the end, the conquerors divided the country between themselves; the Mengwe made choice of the lands in the vicinity of the great Lakes, and on their tributary streams, and the Lenape took possession of the country to the south. For a long period of time, some say many hundred years, the two nations resided peaceably in this country, and increased very fast; some of their most enterprising huntsmen and warriors, crossed the great swamps,* and falling on streams running to the eastward, followed them down to the great Bay River,† thence into the Bay itself, which we call Chesapeak. As they pursued their travels, partly by land, and partly by water, sometimes near and at other times on the great Saltwater Lake, as they call the Sea, they discovered the great River, which we call the Delaware; and thence exploring still eastward, the *Scheyichbi* country, now named New Jersey, they arrived at another great stream, that which we call the Hudson or North River. Satisfied with what they had seen, they, (or some of them) after a long absence, returned to their nation and reported the discoveries they had made; they described the country they had discovered, as abounding in game and various kinds of fruits; and the rivers and bays, with fish, tortoises, &c. together with abundance of water-fowl, and no enemy to be dreaded. They considered the event as a fortunate one for them, and

* The *Glades*, that is to say that they crossed the mountains.

† Meaning the river Susquehannah, which they call "the great Bay River," from where the west branch falls into the main stream.

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concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither, as yet but in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for want of provisions by the way, some even laying by for a whole year; at last they settled on the four great rivers (which we call Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomack) making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of "*Lenapewihittuck*,"* (the river or stream of the Lenape) the centre of their possessions.

They say, however, that the whole of their nation did not reach this country; that many remained behind in order to aid and assist that great body of their people, which had not crossed the Namæsi Sipu, but had retreated into the interior of the country on the other side, on being informed of the reception which those who had crossed had met with, and probably thinking that they had all been killed by the enemy.

Their nation finally became divided into three separate bodies; the larger body, which they suppose to have been one half of the whole, were settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which, the strongest as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder where they left them, on this side of that river.

Those of the Delawares who fixed their abode on the shores of the Atlantic divided themselves into three tribes. Two of them, distinguished by the names of the *Turtle* and the *Turkey*, the former calling themselves *Unámis* and the other *Unalachtgo*, chose those grounds to settle on, which lay nearest to the sea, between the coast and the high mountains. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from the *Mohicannittuck* (river of the Mohicans, which we call the North or Hudson river) to

* The word "Hittuck," in the language of the Delawares, means a rapid stream; "Sipo," or "Sipu," is the proper name for a river.

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beyond the Potomack. Many families with their connexions choosing to live by themselves, were scattered not only on the larger but also on the small streams, throughout the country, having towns and villages, where they lived together in separate bodies, in each of which a chief resided; those chiefs, however, were subordinate (by their own free will, the only kind of subordination which the Indians know) to the head chiefs or great council of the nation, whom they officially informed of all events or occurrences affecting the general interest which came to their knowledge. The third tribe, the *Wolf*, commonly called the *Minsi*, which we have corrupted into *Monseys*, had chosen to live back of the two other tribes, and formed a kind of bulwark for their protection, watching the motions of the Mengwe, and being at hand to afford their aid in case of a rupture with them. The Minsi were considered the most warlike and active branch of the Lenape. They extended their settlements, from the *Minisink*, a place named after them, where they had their council seat and fire, quite up to the Hudson on the east; and to the west or south west far beyond the Susquehannah: their northern boundaries were supposed originally to be the heads of the great rivers Susquehannah and Delaware, and their southern boundaries that ridge of hills known in New Jersey by the name of *Muskanecun*, and in Pennsylvania, by those of *Lehigh*, *Coghnewago*, &c. Within this boundary were their principal settlements; and even as late as the year 1742, they had a town, with a large peach orchard, on the tract of land where *Nazareth*, in Pennsylvania, has since been built; another on *Lehigh*, (the west branch of the Delaware,) and others beyond the blue ridge, besides small family settlements here and there scattered.

From the above *three* tribes, the *Unamis*, *Unalachtgo*,

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and the *Minsi*, comprising together the body of those people we call *Delawares*, had in the course of time, sprung many others, who, having for their own conveniency, chosen distant spots to settle on, and increasing in numbers, gave themselves names or received them from others. Those names, generally given after some simple natural objects, or after something striking or extraordinary, they continued to bear even after they ceased to be applicable, when they removed to other places, where the object after which they were named was not to be found; thus they formed separate and distinct tribes, yet did not deny their origin, but retained their affection for the parent tribe, of which they were even proud to be called the grandchildren.

This was the case with the *Mahicanni* or Mohicans, in the east, a people who by intermarriages had become a detached body, mixing two languages together, and forming out of the two a dialect of their own: choosing to live by themselves, they had crossed the Hudson River, naming it Mahicannituck River after their assumed name, and spread themselves over all that country which now composes the eastern states. New tribes again sprung from them, who assumed distinct names; still however not breaking off from the parent stock, but acknowledging the Lenni Lenape to be their grandfather: the Delawares, at last, thought proper to enlarge their council house for their Mahicanni grandchildren, that they might come to their fire, that is to say, be benefited by their advice, and also in order to keep alive their family connexions and remain in league with each other.

Much the same thing happened with a body of the Lenape, called *Nanticokes*, who had, together with their offspring, proceeded far to the south, in Maryland and Virginia; the council house was by their grandfather, (the Delawares,) extended to the Potomack, in the same manner and for the same motives as had been done with the *Mahicanni*.

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Meanwhile the Mengwe, who had first settled on the great Lakes between them, had always kept a number of canoes in readiness to save themselves, in case the Alligewi should return, and their number also increasing, they had in time proceeded farther, and settled below the Lakes along the river St. Lawrence, so that they were now become, on the north side, neighbours of the Lenape tribes.

These Mengwe now began to look upon their southern neighbours with a jealous eye, became afraid of their growing power, and of being dispossessed by them of the lands they occupied. To meet this evil in time, they first sought to raise quarrels and disturbances, which in the end might lead to wars between distant tribes and the Lenape, for which purpose, they clandestinely murdered people on one or the other side, seeking to induce the injured party to believe, that some particular nation or tribe had been the aggressor; and having actually succeeded to their wishes, they now stole into the country of the Lenape and their associates, frequently surprising them at their hunting camps, occasionally committing murders, and making off with the plunder. Foreseeing, however, that they could not go on in this way without being detected, they had recourse to other artful means, by which they actually succeeded in setting tribe against tribe, and nation against nation. As each nation or tribe has a particular mark on their war clubs, different from that of the others; and as on seeing one of these near the dead body of a murdered person, it is immediately known what nation or tribe has been the aggressor; so the Mengwe having left a war club, such as the Lenape made use of, in the Cherokee country, where they had purposely committed a murder, of course the Cherokees naturally concluding that it had been committed by the Lenape, fell suddenly upon them, which produced a most bloody war between the two nations. The treachery of the Mengwe, however, having been at

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length discovered, the Lenape determined on taking an exemplary revenge, and, indeed, nothing short of a total extirpation* of that deceitful race was resolved on; they were, besides, known to eat human flesh,† to kill men for the purpose of devouring them; and therefore were not considered by the Lenape as a pure race, or as rational beings; but as a mixture of the human and brutal kinds.

War being now openly declared against the Mengwe, it was carried on with vigour; until, at last, finding that they were no match for so powerful an enemy as the Lenape, who had such a train of connexions, ready to join them if necessity required, they fell upon the plan of entering into a confederacy with each other, by which they would be bound to make a common cause,

* Loskiel, part I. ch 10.

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† The Reverend C. Pyrlæus, a pupil of Conrad Weiser, of whom he learned the Mohawk language, and who was afterwards stationed on the Mohawk river, as a Missionary, has, in a manuscript book, written between the years 1742 and 1748, page 235, the following note, which he received from a principal chief of that nation. viz. "The Five Nations formerly did eat human flesh, they at one time "ate up a whole body of the French King's soldiers, they say, *Eto "niocht echquari*; which is: Human flesh tastes like bear's meat. "They also say, that the hands are not good eating, they are *yox-"gurut*, bitter."

Aged French Canadians have told me, many years since, while I was at Detroit, that they had frequently seen the Iroquois eat the flesh of those who had been slain in battle, and that this was the case in the war between the French and English, commonly called the war of 1756.

At a treaty held at the Proprietor's house in Philadelphia, July 5th 1742, with the Six Nations, none of the Senecas attended; the reason of their absence being asked, it was given for answer, "that there was a famine in their country, and that a father had been obliged to kill two of his children, to preserve the lives of the remainder of the family." See Colden's History of the Five Nations, part II. page 52. See also the minutes of that treaty, printed at Philadelphia, by B. Franklin, in 1743, p. 7, in the Collection of Indian Treaties in the library of the American Philosophical Society.

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and meet the common enemy with their united force, and not, as the present prospect was, be destroyed by tribes, which threatened in the end the destruction of the whole. Until this time, each tribe of the Mengwe had acted independent of the others, and they were not inclined to come under any supreme authority, which might counteract their base designs; for now, a single tribe, or even individuals of a tribe, by the commission of wanton hostilities, would draw the more peaceable among them into wars and bloodshed, as particularly had been the case with the Senecas, who were the most restless of the whole; and though the Lenape had directed their force principally against the aggressors, yet the body of the nation became thereby weaker; so that they saw the necessity of coming under some better regulations and government.*

This confederation took place some time between the 15th and 16th century;† the most bloody wars were afterwards carried on for a great length of time, between the confederated Iroquois, and the Delawares and their connexions, in which the Lenape say that they generally came off victorious. While these wars were carrying on with vigour, the French landed in Canada, and it was not long before they and the now combined Five Nations,

* Loskiel, part I. ch. I.

† The Rev. C. Pyrlæus, in his manuscript book, page 234, says: "The alliance or confederacy of the Five Nations was establish-"ed, as near as can be conjectured, one age (or the length of a man's "life) before the white people (the Dutch) came into the country. "*Thannawage* was the name of the aged Indian, a Mohawk, who first "proposed such an alliance." He then gives the names of the chiefs of the Five Nations, which at that time met and formed the alliance. viz. "*Teganawita*, of the Mohawks; *Otatschéchta*, of the "Oneidas; *Tatotarho*, of the Onondagos, *Tegahâyon*, of the Cay-"ugas; *Ganiatarió* and *Satagarùyes*, from two towns of the Sene-"cas &c." and concludes with saying: "All these names are forever "to be kept in remembrance, by naming a person in each nation after "them," &c. &c.

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or tribes, were at war with each other, the latter not being willing to permit that the French should establish themselves in that country. At last the Iroquois, finding themselves between two fires, and without any prospect of conquering the Lenape by arms, and seeing the necessity of withdrawing with their families, from the shores of the St. Lawrence, to the interior of the country, where the French could not easily reach them, fell upon a stratagem, which they flattered themselves would, if successful, secure to them not only a peace with the Lenape, but also with all the other tribes connected with them; so that they would then have but one enemy (the French) to contend with.

This plan was very deeply laid, and was calculated to deprive the Lenape and their allies, not only of their power but of their military fame, which had exalted them above all the other Indian nations. They were to be persuaded to abstain from the use of arms, and assume the station of mediators and umpires among their warlike neighbours. In the language of the Indians, they were to be made *women*.* It must be understood that among these nations wars are never brought to an end but by the interference of the weaker sex. The men, however tired of fighting, are afraid of being considered as cowards if they should intimate a desire for peace. It is not becoming, say they, for a warrior, with the bloody weapon in his hand, to hold pacific language to his enemy. He must shew to the end a determined courage, and appear as ready and willing to fight as at the beginning of the contest. Neither, say they, is it proper, to threaten and to sue in the same breath, to hold the peace belt in one hand, and the tomahawk in the other; men's words, as well as their actions, should be of a piece, all good or all bad; for it is a fixed maxim of theirs, which they apply on all occasions, that good can

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* Loskiel, part I. ch. 10.

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never dwell with evil. They also think that a treaty produced by threats or by force, cannot be binding. With these dispositions, war would never have ceased among Indians, until the extermination of one or the other party, if the tender and compassionate sex had not come forward, and by their moving speeches persuaded the enraged combatants to bury their hatchets, and make peace with each other. On these occasions they were very eloquent, they would lament with great feeling the losses suffered on both sides, when there was not a warrior, perhaps, who had not lost a son, a brother or a friend. They would describe the sorrows of widowed wives, and, above all, of bereaved mothers. The pains of child-birth, the anxieties attending the progress of their sons from infancy to manhood, they had willingly and even cheerfully suffered; but after all these trials, how cruel was it for them to see those promising youths whom they had reared with so much care, fall victims to the rage of war, and a prey to a relentless enemy; to see them slaughtered on the field of battle, or put to death, as prisoners, by a protracted torture, in the midst of the most exquisite torments. The thought of such scenes made them curse their own existence, and shudder at the idea of bearing children. Then they would conjure the warriors by every thing that was dear to them, to take pity on the sufferings of their wives and helpless infants, to turn their faces once more towards their homes, families and friends, to forgive the wrongs suffered from each other, to lay aside their deadly weapons, and smoke together the pipe of amity and peace. They had given on both sides sufficient proofs of their courage; the contending nations were alike high minded and brave, and they must now embrace as friends those whom they had learned to respect as enemies. Speeches like these seldom failed of their intended effect, and the women, by this honourable function of peace-makers, were placed in a situation by no means undignified. It would

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not be a disgrace, therefore; on the contrary, it would be an honour to a powerful nation, who could not be suspected of wanting either strength or courage, to assume that station by which they would be the means, and the only means, of preserving the general peace and saving the Indian race from utter extirpation.

Such were the arguments which the artful Mengwe urged to the Lenape to make them fall into the snare which they had prepared for them. They had reflected, they said, deeply reflected on their critical situation; there remained no resource for them, but that some magnanimous nation should assume the part and situation of the *woman*. It could not be given to a weak or contemptible tribe, such would not be listened to; but the Lenape and their allies would at once possess influence and command respect. As men they had been dreaded; as women they would be respected and honoured, none would be so daring or so base as to attack or insult them; as women they would have a right to interfere in all the quarrels of other nations, and to stop or prevent the effusion of Indian blood. They entreated them, therefore, to become *the woman* in name and in fact, to lay down their arms and all the insignia of warriors, to devote themselves to agriculture and other pacific employments, and thus become the means of preserving peace and harmony among the nations.

The Lenape, unfortunately for themselves, listened to the voice of their enemies. They knew it was too true, that the Indian nations, excited by their own unbridled passions, and not a little by their European neighbours, were in the way of total extirpation by each other's hands. They believed that the Mengwe were sincere, and that their proposal had no object in view but the preservation of the Indian race. In a luckless hour they gave their consent, and agreed to become *women*. This consent was received with great joy. A feast was prepared for the purpose of confirming and proclaiming the

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new order of things. With appropriate ceremonies, of which Loskiel has given a particular description,* the Delawares were installed in their new functions, eloquent speeches were delivered, accompanied, as usual, with belts of wampum. The great peace belt and the chain of friendship (in the figurative language of the Indians) was laid across the shoulders of the new mediator, one end of which, it was said, was to be taken hold of by all the Indian nations, and the other by the Europeans.† The Lenape say that the Dutch were present at that ceremony, and had no inconsiderable share in the intrigue.

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The old and intelligent Mahicani, whose forefathers inhabited the country on the east side of the North river, gave many years since the following account of the above transaction. They said that their grandfather, (the Lenni Lenape) and the nations or tribes connected with them, were so united, that whatsoever nation attacked the one, it was the same as attacking the whole; all in such cases would unite and make a common cause. That the long house (council house) of all those who were of the same blood, and united under this kind of tacit alliance, reached from the head of the tide, at some distance above where Gaaschtinick (Albany) now stands, to the head of the tide water on the Potomack. That at each end of this house there was a door for the tribes to enter at. That the Mengwe were in no way connected with those who had access to this house; but were looked upon as strangers. That the Lenape, with the Mohicans and all the other tribes in their connexion, were on the point of extirpating the Five Nations, when they applied to the *Dutchemaan*, who were now making a settlement at or near Gaaschtinick, to assist them in bringing about a peace with the Lenape. That accordingly these new comers invited the Lenape and the Mohicans to a grand

* Loskiel, part I. ch. 10. † Ibid

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council, at a place situated at some distance from where Albany now stands, which the white people have since called by the name of *Nordman's Kill*. That when at length, by their united supplications and fair speeches, they had got the hatchet out of the hands of the Lenape, they buried that weapon at Gaaschtinick, and said that they would build a church over the spot, so that the weapon could never any more be got at, otherwise than by lifting up the whole church, and whatever nation should dare to do this, on them the Dutchemaan would take revenge. That now, having succeeded in getting the weapon out of the hands of the Lenape, the ceremony of placing them in the situation of "the woman," for the purpose of being mediators, took place, when the Mengwe declared them henceforth to be their cousins, and the Mahicani, they said, they would call their nephews.

The Mahicani further say, that it was fear which induced the Dutchemaan to aid the Five Nations in bringing about this peace, because at the place where they were at that time making their settlement, great bodies of warriors would pass and repass, so that they could not avoid being interrupted in their undertakings, and probably molested, if not destroyed, by one or the other of the war parties, as their wars, at that time, were carried on with great rage, and no quarters were given. That in producing this peace, the white people had effected for the Mengwe, what no other nation could have done, and had laid the foundation of the future greatness of their Iroquois friends, as the same policy was pursued by the English, after they came into possession of this country.—So far the tradition of the Mahicani.

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The Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus, in his notes, after fixing as near as he could the time when the Five Nations confederated with each other, proceeds in these words: "According to "my informant, Sganarady, a creditable aged Indian, his "grandfather had been one of the deputies sent for the "purpose of entering into a covenant with the white En-

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"ropeans; they met at a place since called Nordman's "Kill, about four miles below where afterwards Albany "was built, where this covenant of friendship was first "established, and the Mohawks were the active body in "effecting this work."

From these three separate accounts of the Lenape, of the Mahicani, and of the Mohawks, as related by Mr. Pyrlæus, it appears to be conclusively proved, that the Europeans were already in this country, when the Lenape were persuaded to assume the station of *the woman*, and that the Dutch were assisting in the plot, and were at least the instigators, if not the authors of it. It was the *Dutch* who summoned the great council near Albany; the tomahawk was buried deep in the ground, and the vengeance of the *Dutch* was threatened if it should ever be taken up again; the peace belt was laid across the shoulders of the unfortunate Delawares, supported at one end by the Five Nations, and at the other by the *Europeans:* all these circumstances point so clearly to European intrigue, that it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the whites adopted this means to neutralise the power of the Delawares and their friends, whom they dreaded, and strengthen the hands of the Iroquois, who were in their alliance.

The Iroquois have denied that these machinations ever took place, and say that they conquered the Delawares in fair battle, and compelled them by force to become women, or in other words that they obliged them to submit to the greatest humiliation to which a warlike spirited people can ever be reduced; not a momentary humiliation, as when the Romans were compelled by the Samnites to pass under the Caudine forks, but a permanent disgrace, which was to last as long as their national existence. If this were true, the Lenape and their allies, who, like all other Indian nations, never considered a treaty binding when entered into under any kind of compulsion, would not have submitted to this any longer than

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until they could again have rallied their forces and fallen upon their enemy; they would have done long before the year 1755, what they did at last at that time, joined the French in their wars against the Iroquois and English, and would not have patiently waited more than a century before they took their revenge for so flagrant an outrage. Their numbers, acknowledged to have been far superior to that of their Indian enemies, and the vast extent of territory which they possessed, furnished them with ample means to have acted hostilely, if they had thought proper. On the contrary, they lived at peace with the Iroquois, and their European allies, until that decisive war, by which the French lost at once all their extensive possessions on the continent of America.

In addition to these positive proofs, negative evidence of the strongest kind may be adduced. The Iroquois say, indeed, that they conquered the Delawares and their allies, and compelled them to become women. But there is no tradition among them of the particulars of this important event. Neither Mr. Pyrlæus, nor Mr. Zeisberger, who both lived long among the Five Nations, and spoke and understood their language well, could obtain from them any details relative to this supposed conquest; they ought, certainly, to have been able to say how it was effected; whether by one decisive fight or by successive engagements; when, and at what place or places these engagements, or at least, the last battle took place; who were the nations or tribes engaged in it; who the chiefs or commanders; what numbers fell on each side; and a variety of other facts, by which the truth of their assertion might have been proved: the total absence of such details appears to me to militate against them in the strongest manner, and to corroborate the statement of their adversaries.

The Delawares are of opinion, that this scheme of the Five Nations, however deeply laid, and meant essentially to injure them, would not, however, have operated against

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them, but on the contrary have greatly subserved their national interest, if the Europeans had not afterwards come into the country in such great numbers, and multiplied so rapidly as they did. For their neutral position would greatly have favoured their increase, while the numbers of the other Indian nations would have been reduced by the wars in which they were continually engaged. But unfortunately for them, it happened, that the Europeans successively invaded the country which they occupied and now forms what are called the middle states, and as they advanced from the Atlantic into the interior, drove before them the Lenape and their allies, and obtained possession of their lands; while the Iroquois, who happened to be placed in the neighbourhood of Canada, between the French and English, who were frequently at war with each other, had an enemy, it is true, in the French nation, but had strong protectors in the English, who considered them as a check upon their enemies, and, being the most numerous people, were best able to afford them protection; thus they were suffered to increase and become powerful, while the Lenape, having no friend near them, the French being then at too great a distance, were entirely at the mercy of their English neighbours, who, advancing fast on their lands, gradually dispersed them, and other causes concurring, produced at last their almost entire destruction. Among those causes the treacherous conduct of the Five Nations may be considered as the principal one.

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Before that strange metamorphosis took place, of a great and powerful nation being transformed into a band of defenceless women, the Iroquois had never been permitted to visit the Lenape, even when they were at peace with each other. Whenever a Mengwe appeared in their country, he was hunted down as a beast of prey, and it was lawful for every one to destroy him. But now, *the woman* could not, consistently with her new station and her engagements, make use of destructive

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weapons, and she was bound to abstain from all violence against the human species. Her late enemies, therefore, found no difficulty in travelling, under various pretences, through her country, and those of her allies, and leaving here and there a few of their people to remain among them as long as they pleased, for the purpose, as they said, of keeping up a good understanding, and assisting them in the preservation of the general peace. But while they were amusing the Lenape with flattering language, they were concerting measures to disturb their quiet by involving them in difficulties with the neighbouring nations. I shall relate one among many instances of a similar conduct. They once sent their men into the Cherokee country, who were instructed secretly to kill one of that nation, and to leave a war club near the person murdered, which had been purposely made after the manner and in the shape of those of the Delawares. Now leaving a war club in an Indian country, is considered by those nations as a formal challenge or declaration of war. The Cherokees, deceived by appearances, and believing that their grandfather the Lenape had committed the murder, collected a large party to go into their country and take their revenge. Meanwhile, the Iroquois sent a messenger to the Lenape, to inform them of the approach of an enemy, who, they had learned from their hunters, was coming towards their settlement, and to advise them to send a number of their men immediately to a certain place, where they would be met by a large body of the Five Nations, who would take the lead, march in front, and fight their battles, so that they would have little else to do than to look on, and see how well their friends fought for them. The Lenape, being in no wise prepared to meet a powerful foe, assembled in haste a few of their men, and repaired to the place of rendezvous, where they were disappointed by not meeting any of their pretended protectors. The enemy, however, was close upon them; the Lenape fought with great

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courage, but were overpowered by an immense superiority of numbers, and defeated with considerable loss. Now the Iroquois made their appearance, and instead of attacking or pursuing the Cherokees, loaded the Delawares with reproaches, for their temerity, as they called it, in having dared, being *women*, to take the lead in attacking *men*. They told them that the Five Nations being their superiors, they ought to have waited for them before they attacked the Cherokees, that then their protectors would have fought and defeated them, but that as they had thought proper to act by themselves, they had received the punishment justly due to their presumption.

It was thus that the Five Nations rewarded the confidence that the Delawares had placed in them. Their treachery was not, however, suspected for a long time; but it was at last discovered; it was even found out that in this last engagement, a number of the Iroquois had joined in fight against them with their enemies. The Lenape then determined to unite their forces, and by one great effort to destroy entirely that perfidious nation. This, they say, they might easily have done, as they were then yet as numerous as the grasshoppers at particular seasons, and as destructive to their enemies as these insects are to the fruits of the earth; while they described the Mengwe as a number of croaking frogs in a pond, which make a great noise when all is quiet, but at the first approach of danger, nay, at the very rustling of a leaf, immediately plunge into the water and are silent.

But their attention was now diverted by other scenes. The whites were again landing in great numbers on their coast, in the east and south, and this spectacle once more engaged all the capacity of their minds. They were lost in admiration at what they saw, and were consulting and deliberating together on what they should do. The Five Nations, who lived out of the reach of all danger, never-

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theless also came; but bent on their own interest, while they were instigating the other nations to fall upon the new comers, or drive them off from their shores, by which they caused useless hostilities, in which they did not appear to participate, they were insinuating themselves into the favour of the powerful strangers, professing great friendship for them, persuading them that they were superior to the other Indian nations, that they had controul over them all, and would chastise those who should disturb their peace.

William Penn came, with his train of pacific followers. Never will the Delawares forget their elder brother *Miquon*, as they affectionately and respectfully call him. From his first arrival in their country, a friendship was formed between them which was to last as long as the sun should shine, and the rivers flow with water. That friendship would undoubtedly have continued to the end of time, had their good brother always remained among them, but in his absence, mischievous people, say they, got into power, who, not content with the land which had been given to them, contrived to get all that they wanted; and when the Lenape looked round for the friends of their brother Miquon, to hear their just complaints, and redress their wrongs, they could not discover them, and had the misfortune to see their greatest enemies the Mengwe, brought on for the purpose of shutting their mouths, and compelling them to submit to the injustice done them.

They cannot conceive how the English could turn from the people by whom they had been so kindly received and welcomed with open arms; from those who had permitted them to sit down upon their lands in peace, and without fear of being molested by them; who had taken delight in supplying all their wants,* and who were hap-

* Mr. Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, relates that some time after the establishment of William Penn's government, the In-

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py in smoking the pipe of friendship with them at one and the same fire; how they could not only see them degraded and injured by a base and perfidious nation, but join with that nation in sinking them still lower. For to the countenance of the English, they say, is entirely owing the great preponderance which the Iroquois at last attained: they complain that the English did support that enemy against them, that they even sanctioned their insolence, by telling them to make use of their authority as men, and bring these women (the Lenape) to their senses. That they were even insulted and treated in a degrading manner, in treaties to which the English were parties, and particularly in that which took place at Easton in Pennsylvania, in July 1742, when the Six Nations were publicly called on to compel the Delawares to give up the land taken from them by the long day's walk. But for these repeated outrages, they would not have taken part with the French in the memorable war of 1755. Nor, perhaps, would they have done so, had not they been seduced into the measure by the perfidious Iroquois. At the commencement of that war, they brought the war belt with a piece of tobacco to the Delawares, and told them: "Remember that the English have unjustly de-
"prived you of much of your land, which they took from

[Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 1748. -Aug'ust]

dians used to supply the family of one John Chapman, whose descendants still reside in Bucks County, with all kinds of provisions, and mentions an affecting instance of their kindness to that family. Abraham and John Chapman, twin children about nine or ten years old, going out one evening to seek their cattle, met an Indian in the woods, who told them to go back, else they would be lost. They took his advice and went back, but it was night before they got home, where they found the Indian, who had repaired thither out of anxiety for them. And their parents, about that time, going to the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, and leaving a young family at home, the Indians came every day to see whether any thing was amiss among them. Such (says Proud) in many instances was the kind treatment of the Aborigines of this country to the English, in their first and early settlement. Proud's Hist. vol. I. p. 223, 224.

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"you by force. Your cause is just; therefore smoke of "this tobacco, and arise; join with us our fathers the "French, and take your revenge. You are women, it "is true, but we will shorten your petticoats, and though "you may appear by your dress to be women, yet by "your conduct and language you will convince your "enemies that you are determined not tamely to suffer "the wrongs and injuries inflicted upon you."

Yielding to these solicitations, the Delawares and their connexions took up arms against the English in favour of the French, and committed many hostilities, in which the Iroquois appeared to take no part. Sir William Johnson requested them to use their ascendancy and to persuade the hostile Indians to lay down the hatchet, instead of which, instead of conforming to the ancient custom of Indian nations, which was simply to take the war hatchet back from those to whom they had given it, they fell on a sudden on the unsuspecting Lenape, killed their cattle, and destroyed their town on the Susquehannah, and having taken a number of them prisoners, carried them to Sir William Johnson, who confined and put them in irons. This cruel act of treachery, the Delawares say, they will never forget nor forgive.

Thus the Lenape, whose principal settlements were then on the frontier of Pennsylvania, took part with the French, and acted hostilely against the English during the whole of the war of 1755. The animosity which mutual hostilities produced between them and the white settlers concurred, no doubt, with other causes, in producing the murder of the Conestogo Indians, which took place at the close of that war, in December 1763, and is feelingly related by Loskiel, Part I. ch. 14 and 15.

The revolutionary war put an end to the exorbitant power of the Iroquois. They were, indeed, still supported by the British government, but the Americans were now the strongest party, and of course against them. They endeavoured to persuade the other Indian nations

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to join them, but their expectations were deceived. At a meeting which took place at Pittsburg in 1775, for the express purpose of deliberating on the part which it became Indians to take in the disturbances which had arisen between the King of Great Britain and his subjects, Capt. White Eyes, a sensible and very spirited warrior of the Lenape, boldly declared to a select body of the Senecas, that his Indians would never join any nation or power, for the purpose of destroying a people who were born on the same soil with them. That the Americans were his friends and brothers, and that no nation should dictate to him what part he should take in the existing war. Anticipating the measure which the American Congress took in the succeeding year, he declared *himself*,* in behalf of his nation, free and independent of the Iroquois; they had pretended that they had conquered him, they had made a woman of him and dressed him in woman's apparel, but now he was again a man, he stood before them as a man, and with the weapons of a man he would assert his claim to all yonder country, pointing to the land on the west side of the Allegheny river; for to him it belonged, and not to the Six Nations, who falsely asserted that they had acquired it by conquest. In the year 1778 or 1779, the Lenape bravely asserted their national independence by joining Col. Brodhead's troops in an expedition against the Senecas. If they did not do as much in that war as might have been expected of them, and took only a partial revenge, it was owing to the death of their brave chief White Eyes, who died of the small pox at Pittsburg, I think, in the year 1780. He was a christian in his heart, but did not live to make a public profession of our

* Indian chiefs in their public speeches, always speak on behalf of their nation in the singular number and in the first person, considering themselves, in a manner, as its representatives.

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religion, though it is well known that he persuaded many Indians to embrace it.*

Although the Lenape acted independently in the war of 1755, and made a formal declaration of their independence at the beginning of the revolutionary war, yet the Six Nations persevered in their pretensions, and still affected to consider them as women. Finding, however, that this obsolete claim was no longer acknowledged, and that it was useless to insist upon it any longer, they came forward of their own accord, about the time of Wayne's treaty, and formally declared that the Lenape and their allies were no longer women, but MEN.

The Delawares and Mohicans agree in saying, that from the time of the fatal treaty in which they were persuaded to assimilate themselves to women, and, indeed, ever since the Europeans first came into the country, the conduct of the Iroquois was treacherous and perfidious in the extreme. That it was their constant practice to sally out secretly and commit depredations on the neighbouring nations, with intent to involve them in wars with each other. That they would also commit murders on the frontier settlers, from Virginia to New England, and charge the tribes who were settled in the neighbourhood with the commission of those crimes. That they would then turn negotiators, and effect a peace, always at the expense of the nation whom they had injured. They would sell the lands of other nations to the English and receive the money, pretending to a paramount right to the whole territory, and this, say the Lenape, was their manner of CONQUERING NATIONS!

* Loskiel, part II. ch. 8.

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CHAPTER II.

INDIAN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH AT NEW YORK ISLAND.

THE Lenni Lenape claim the honour of having received and welcomed the Europeans on their first arrival in the country, situated between New England and Virginia. It is probable, however, that the Mahicani or Mohicans, who then inhabited the banks of the Hudson, concurred in the hospitable act. The relation I am going to make was taken down many years since from the mouth of an intelligent Delaware Indian, and may be considered as a correct account of the tradition existing among them of this momentous event. I give it as much as possible in their own language.

A great many years ago, when men with a white skin had never yet been seen in this land, some Indians who were out a fishing at a place where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. These Indians immediately returning to the shore, apprised their countrymen of what they had observed, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. They hurried out together, and saw with astonishment the phenomenon which now appeared to their sight, but could not agree upon what it was; some believed it to be an uncommonly large fish or animal, while others were of opinion it must be a very big house floating on the sea. At length the spectators concluded that this wonderful object was moving towards the land, and that it must be an animal or something else that had life in it; it would therefore be proper to inform all the Indians on the inhabited isl-

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ands of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly they sent off a number of runners and watermen to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off in every direction for the warriors, with a message that they should come on immediately. These arriving in numbers, and having themselves viewed the strange appearance, and observing that it was actually moving towards the entrance of the river or bay; concluded it to be a remarkably large house in which the Mannitto (the Great or Supreme Being) himself was present, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs were assembled at York island and deliberating in what manner in which they should receive their Mannitto on his arrival. Every measure was taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice. The women were desired to prepare the best victuals. All the idols or images were examined and put in order, and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Great Being, but it was believed that it might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute to appease him if he was angry with them. The conjurers were also set to work, to determine what this phenomenon portended, and what the possible result of it might be. To these and to the chiefs and wise men of the nations, men, women and children were looking up for advice and protection. Distracted between hope and fear, they were at a loss what to do; a dance, however, commenced in great confusion. While in this situation, fresh runners arrive declaring it to be a large house of various colours, and crowded with living creatures. It appears now to be certain, that it is the great Mannitto, bringing them some kind of game, such as he had not given them before, but other runners soon after arriving declare that it is positively a house full of human beings, of quite a different colour from that of the Indians, and dressed differently from them; that in particular one of them was

[erratum. See vol. 116, p. 348. -Analyst]

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dressed entirely in red, who must be the Mannitto himself. They are hailed from the vessel in a language they do not understand, yet they shout or yell in return by way of answer, according to the custom of their country; many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offence to their visitor, who might find them out and destroy them. The house, some say, large canoe, at last stops, and a canoe of a smaller size comes on shore with the red man and some others in it; some stay with his canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men, assembled in council, form themselves into a large circle, towards which the man in red clothes approaches with two others. He salutes them with a friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration; the dress, the manners, the whole appearance of the unknown strangers is to them a subject of wonder; but they are particularly struck with him who wore the red coat all glittering with gold lace, which they could in no manner account for. He, surely, must be the great Mannitto, but why should he have a white skin? Meanwhile, a large *Hackhack** is brought by one of his servants, from which an unknown substance is poured out into a small cup or glass, and handed to the supposed Mannitto. He drinks—has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief standing next to him. The chief receives it, but only smells the contents and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass or cup thus passes through the circle, without the liquor being tasted by any one, and is upon the point of being returned to the red clothed Mannitto, when one of the Indians, a brave man and a great warrior, suddenly jumps up and harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the cup with its contents. It was handed to them, says

* Hackhack is properly a gourd, but since they have seen glass bottles and decanters, they call them by the same name.

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he, by the Mannitto, that they should drink out of it, as he himself had done. To follow his example would be pleasing to him; but to return what he had given them might provoke his wrath, and bring destruction on them. And since the orator believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them should be drunk, and as no one else would do it, he would drink it himself, let the consequence be what it might; it was better for one man to die, than that a whole nation should be destroyed. He then took the glass, and bidding the assembly a solemn farewel, at once drank up its whole contents. Every eye was fixed on the resolute chief, to see what effect the unknown liquor would produce. He soon began to stagger, and at last fell prostrate on the ground. His companions now bemoan his fate, he falls into a sound sleep, and they think he has expired. He wakes again, jumps up and declares, that he has enjoyed the most delicious sensations, and that he never before felt himself so happy as after he had drunk the cup. He asks for more, his wish is granted; the whole assembly then imitate him, and all become intoxicated.

After this general intoxication had ceased, for they say that while it lasted the whites had confined themselves to their vessel, the man with the red clothes returned again, and distributed presents among them, consisting of beads, axes, hoes, and stockings such as the white people wear. They soon became familiar with each other, and began to converse by signs. The Dutch made them understand that they would not stay here, that they would return home again, but would pay them another visit the next year, when they would bring them more presents, and stay with them a while; but as they could not live without eating, they should want a little land of them to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs and vegetables to put into their broth. They went away as they had said, and returned in the following season, when both parties were much rejoiced to see each other;

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but the whites laughed at the Indians, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes and hoes they had given them the year before; for they had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments, and the stockings were made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles to the former for them, and cut trees down before their eyes, hoed up the ground, and put the stockings on their legs. Here, they say, a general laughter ensued among the Indians, that they had remained ignorant of the use of such valuable implements, and had borne the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks, for such a length of time. They took every white man they saw for an inferior Mannitto attendant on the supreme Deity who shone superior in the red and laced clothes. As the whites became daily more familiar with the Indians, they at last proposed to stay with them, and asked only for so much ground for a garden spot as, they said, the hide of a bullock would cover or encompass, which hide was spread before them. The Indians readily granted this apparently reasonable request; but the whites then took a knife and beginning at one end of the hide, cut it up to a long rope, not thicker than a child's finger, so that by the time the whole was cut up, it made a great heap; they then took the rope at one end, and drew it gently along, carefully avoiding its breaking. It was drawn out into a circular form, and being closed at its ends, encompassed a large piece of ground. The Indians were surprised at the superior wit of the whites,* but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had still enough themselves. The white and red men lived contentedly together for a long time, though the former from time to time asked for more land, which was readily obtained, and thus they gradually proceeded

* These Dutchmen were probably acquainted with what is related of Queen Dido in ancient history, and thus turned their classical knowledge to a good account.

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higher up the Mahicanittuck, until the Indians began to believe that they would soon want all their country, which in the end proved true.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN RELATIONS OF THE CONDUCT OF THE EUROPEANS TOWARDS THEM.

LONG and dismal are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate. Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a *white man*.

They are, in general, very minute in these recitals, and proceed with a great degree of order and regularity. They begin with the Virginians, whom they call the *long knives*, and who were the first European settlers in this part of the American continent. "It was we," say the Lenape, Mohicans, and their kindred tribes, "who "so kindly received them on their first arrival into our "country. We took them by the hand, and bid them "welcome to sit down by our side, and live with us as "brothers, but how did they requite our kindness? "They at first asked only for a little land on which to "raise bread for themselves and their families, and pas- "ture for their cattle, which we freely gave them. They "soon wanted more, which we also gave them. They "saw the game in the woods, which the Great Spi- "rit had given us for our subsistence, and they want-

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193 648 "ed that too. They penetrated into the woods, in quest "of game, they discovered spots of land which pleased "them; that land they also wanted, and because we "were loth to part with it, as we saw they had already "more than they had need of, they took it from us by "force and drove us to a great distance from our ancient "homes."

[103] "By and by the *Dutchemaan** arrived at *Manahach-* "*tánienk*,"† (here they relate with all its details what has been said in the preceding chapter.) "The great man "wanted only a little, little land, on which to raise "greens for his soup, just as much as a bullock's "hide would cover. Here we first might have observed "their deceitful spirit. The bullock's hide was cut "up into little strips, and did not cover, indeed, but en- "circled a very large piece of land, which we foolishly "granted to them. They were to raise *greens* on it, in- "stead of which they planted *great guns*; afterwards they "built strong houses, made themselves masters of the "Island, then went up the river to our enemies, the "Mengwe, made a league with them, persuaded us by "their wicked arts to lay down our arms, and at last "drove us entirely out of the country." Here, of course, is related at full length, the story which we have told in the first chapter. Then the Delawares proceed.

[103] "When the *Yengeese*‡ arrived at *Machtitschwanne*,§ "they looked about every where for good spots of land, "and when they found one, they immediately and with- "out ceremony possessed themselves of it; we were as-

* The Hollanders.

† Manhattan, or New York Island.

‡ An Indian corruption of the word *English*, whence probably the nickname *Yankees*.

§ This word means "a cluster of Islands with channels every way, "so that it is in no place shut up or impassable for craft." The Indians think that the white people have corrupted this word into *Massachusetts*. It deserves to be remarked as an example of the comprehensiveness of the Indian languages.

a [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Ed. 4 st]

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"tonished, but still we let them go on, not thinking it "worth while to contend for a little land. But when at "last they came to our favourite spots, those which lay "most convenient to our fisheries, then bloody wars en- "sued: we would have been contented that the white "people and we should have lived quietly beside each "other; but these white men encroached so fast upon us, "that we saw at once we should lose all, if we did not "resist them. The wars that we carried on against "each other, were long and cruel. We were enraged "when we saw the white people put our friends and "relatives whom they had taken prisoners on board of "their ships, and carry them off to sea, whether to drown "or sell them as slaves, in the country from which they "came, we knew not, but certain it is that none of them "have ever returned or even been heard of. At last "they got possession of the whole of the country which "the Great Spirit had given us. One of our tribes was "forced to wander far beyond Quebec; others dispersed "in small bodies, and sought places of refuge where they "could; some came to Pennsylvania; others went far to "the westward and mingled with other tribes.

"To many of those, Pennsylvania was a last, de- "lightful asylum. But here, again, the Europeans dis- "turbed them, and forced them to emigrate, although "they had been most kindly and hospitably received. "On which ever side of the *Lenapewihittuck*,* the white "people landed, they were welcomed as brothers by our "ancestors, who gave them lands to live on, and even "hunted for them, and furnished them with meat out of "the woods. Such was our conduct to the white men,† "who inhabited this country, until our elder brother, the

* The Delaware river. I have said above, p. 33. that *Hittuck* means a rapid stream. I should have added that it means so only when placed at the end of another word, and used as a compound. Singly, it signifies a *tree*.

† The Swedes and Dutch

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"great and good MIQUON,* came and brought us words "of peace and good will. We believed his words, and "his memory is still held in veneration among us. But "it was not long before our joy was turned into sor- "row: our brother Miquon died, and those of his good "counsellors who were of his mind, and knew what "had passed between him and our ancestors, were no "longer listened to; the strangers† who had taken their "places, no longer spoke to us of sitting down by the "side of each other as brothers of one family, they for- "got that friendship which their great man had esta- "blished with us, and was to last to the end of time; "they now only strove to get all our land from us by "fraud or by force, and when we attempted to remind them "of what our good brother had said, they became angry, "and sent word to our enemies the Mengwe, to meet "them at a great concil which they were to hold with us "at *Læhauwake*,‡ where they should take us by the hair "of our heads, and shake us well. The Mengwe came, "the council was held, and in the presence of the white "men, who did not contradict them, they told us that we "were women, and that they had made us such; that we "had no right to any land, because it was all theirs; that "we must be gone; and that as a great favour they permit- "ted us to go and settle further into the country, at the "place which they themselves pointed out at Wyoming."§

Thus these good Indians, with a kind of melancholy pleasure, recite the long history of their sufferings. After having gone through these painful details, they seldom fail to indulge in bitter, but too just reflections upon the men of Europe. "We and our kindred tribes," say they, "lived in peace and harmony with each other,

* William Penn.

† Land traders and speculators.

‡ Easton.

§ This actually took place at a treaty held at Easton, in July and November, 1756.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"before the white people came into this country; our 173
"council house* extended far to the north and far to the
"south. In the middle of it we would meet from all parts 648
"to smoke the pipe of peace together. When the white
"men arrived in the south, we received them as friends;
"we did the same when they arrived in the east. It was
"we, it was our forefathers, who made them welcome, and
"let them sit down by our side. The land they settled on
"was ours. We knew not but the Great Spirit had sent
"them to us for some good purpose, and therefore we
"thought they must be a good people. We were mista-
"ken; for no sooner had they obtained a footing on our
"lands, than they began to pull our council house down†
"first at one end and then at the other, and at last meeting
"each other at the centre, where the council fire was yet
"burning bright, they put it out,‡ and extinguished it with
"our own blood!§ with the blood of those‖ who with us
"had received them! who had welcomed them in our land!
"Their blood ran in streams into our fire, and extinguished
"it so entirely, that not one spark was left us whereby to

* *Council house* here means, "Connexion District."

† *Pulling the council house down.* Destroying, dispersing the community, preventing their further intercourse with each other, by settling between them on their land. [195]

‡ *Putting the fire out.* Murdering them or their people, where they assemble for pacific purposes, where treaties are held &c. [195]

§ *Our own blood.* The blood flowing from the veins of some of our community. [195]

‖ Alluding to the murder of the Conestogo Indians, who though of another tribe, yet had joined them in welcoming the white people to their shores.

In a narrative of this lamentable event, supposed to have been written by the late Dr. Franklin, it is said: "On the first arrival of "the English in Pennsylvania, messengers from this tribe came to "welcome them with presents of venison, corn and skins, and the "whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first propri-"etor, William Penn, which was to last as long as the sun should "shine, or the waters run in the rivers."

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"kindle a new fire;* we were compelled to withdraw our-
"selves beyond the great swamp,† and to fly to our good
"uncle the *Delamattenos*,‡ who kindly gave us a tract of
"land to live on. How long we shall be permitted to re-
"main in this asylum, the Great Spirit only knows. The
"whites will not rest contented until they shall have de-
"stroyed the last of us, and made us disappear entirely
"from the face of the earth."

I have given here only a brief specimen of the charges which they exhibit against the white people. There are men among them, who have by heart the whole history of what took place between the whites and the Indians, since the former first came into their country; and relate the whole with ease and with an eloquence not to be imitated. On the tablets of their memories they preserve this record for posterity. I, at one time, in April 1787,[a] was astonished when I heard one of their orators, a great chief of the Delaware nation, go over this ground, recapitulating the most extraordinary events which had before happened, and concluding in these words: "I
"admit there are good white men, but they bear no pro-
"portion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest, for
"they rule. They do what they please. They enslave
"those who are not of their colour, although created by
"the same Great Spirit who created us.[b] They would
"make slaves of us if they could, but as they cannot do

[a] [erratum. should read 1781. - Ed.]

* *The fire was entirely extinguished by the blood of the murdered running into it; not a spark was left to kindle a new fire.* This alludes to the last fire that was kindled by the Pennsylvania government and themselves at Lancaster, where the last treaty was held with them in 1762, the year preceding this murder, which put an end to all business of the kind in the province of Pennsylvania.

† *The great Swamp.* The Glades on the Allegheny mountains.

‡ *Delamattenos.* The Hurons or Wyandots, whom they call their uncle. These, though speaking a dialect of the Iroquois language, are in connexion with the Lenape.

[b] [erratum. Should Read "them." - Ed.]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"it, they kill us! There is no faith to be placed in their "words. They are not like the Indians, who are only "enemies, while at war, and are friends in peace. They "will say to an Indian, "my friend! my brother!" "They will take him by the hand, and at the same mo- "ment destroy him. And so you (addressing himself to "the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them be- "fore long. Remember! that this day I have warned "you to beware of such friends as these. I know the *long* "*knives*; they are not to be trusted."

Eleven months after this speech was delivered by this prophetic chief, ninety six of the same Christian Indians, about sixty of them women and children, were murdered at the place where these very words had been spoken, by the same men he had alluded to, and in the same manner that he had described. See Loskiel's History, Part III. ch. 10.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Shawnee NN17

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the spot where Philadelphia now stands; others were conducted by the Mohicans into their own country, where they intermarried with them and became one people. When those settled near the Delaware had multiplied, they returned to Wyoming on the Susquehannah, where they resided for a great number of years.

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In the mean while, those who had remained on the Ohio increased in numbers, and in process of time began again to be troublesome to their neigbours. At last, they crossed the Allegheny mountains, and falling upon the camps of the Lenape on Juniata river, they committed several murders and went off with their plunder. It was soon discovered who were the aggressors; but the Lenape had now assumed the station of "the woman," and could not engage in wars. They could only apply for protection to the Five Nations, which they did, expecting that they would immediately pursue the offenders and inflict an exemplary punishment upon them, but the Five Nations found means to evade their demand for the present. They told the Delawares that the season was too far advanced to commence a war; that it was better to put off their intended expedition until the ensuing spring; that in the mean time, both nations should put themselves in readiness, and keep their preparations secret, and that as soon as the season should open, they would march off separately and meet together at an appointed time and place on the Allegheny, then push on together for the Shawano towns below the confluence of that river and the Monongahela, where they could fall together unawares on the aggressors and punish them. The Iroquois promised, as usual, that they would place themselves in the front of the battle, so that the Delawares would have nothing to do but to look on and see how bravely their protectors would fight for them, and if they were not satisfied with that, they might take their revenge themselves.

Agreeably to this plan, the Lenape remained quiet till

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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the spring, when, with a body of their most valiant men, they marched to the appointed spot; but how great was their surprise when their pretended champions did not make their appearance? They suspected treachery, and were not mistaken; for having immediately marched forward to the Shawano towns, bent on taking an exemplary revenge, they had the disappointment to see on their arrival their enemies pushing off as fast as they could down the Ohio river in their canoes. Some of them were flying by land, as probably they had not a sufficient number of canoes to convey their whole number; these they pursued and attacked, beat them severely, and took several prisoners. Here they had a striking instance of the treachery of the Mengwe, who had warned the Shawanos of their approach. Some time after this, the Shawanos who resided on the north branch of the Susquehannah, began to draw off by degrees, first to the west branch of that river and the Juniata, and then to the Ohio; so that at the commencement of the French war in 1755, they had all, except a few families, with whom was their chief Paxnos, retired to the Ohio, where they joined their countrymen in the war against the English.*

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* While these people lived at Wyoming and in its vicinity, they were frequently visited by missionaries of the Society of the United Brethren, who knowing them to be the most depraved and ferocious tribe of all the Indian nations they had heard of, sought to establish a friendship with them, so as not to be interrupted in their journies from one Indian Mission to another. Count Zinzendorff being at that time in the country, went in 1742 with some other Missionaries to visit them at Wyoming, stayed with them 20 days, and endeavoured to impress the gospel truths upon their minds; but these hardened people, suspecting his views, and believing that he wanted to purchase their land, on which it was reported there were mines of silver, conspired to murder him, and would have effected their purpose, but that Conrad Weiser, the Indian interpreter, arrived fortunately in time to prevent it. (Loskiel part II. ch. 1.) Notwithstanding this, the brethren frequently visited them, and Shehellemus, a

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Mahican NM10
Iroquois NM9

a once large and flourishing settlement. It is probable that by this time they are nearly if not entirely extinct.

It is believed that the Mahicanni are the same nation who are so celebrated in the History of New England, under the name of *Pequods* or *Pequots*.* The Rev. Jonathan Edwards, late President of Union College at Schenectady, in the State of New York, published in the year 1788 in a pamphlet form, some observations on their language, which were republished at New York in 1801. This small tract, as well as the translation of the Bible into the Natick, by the venerable Eliott, and his grammar of that language, put it beyond a doubt that the idiom of the Mohicans and those of the other New England Indians proceeded from the same source with that of the Leuni Lenape.

CHAPTER V.

THE IROQUOIS.

THE most intelligent and credible Indians of the Lenape stock, including the Mohicans, have ever asserted, that in the whole country bounded on the north by the river St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, (including what is now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick,) on the west by the Mississippi, on the east by the Great Salt-water Lake,† and on the south by the country of the Creeks, Cherokees, and other Florida Indians, there

* Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. IX. p. 77. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. I. p. 28.

† The Atlantic ocean.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
IROQUOISNM9

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were but two nations, the Mengwe, and themselves. Theirs was by far the most numerous and the most extensively settled, for their tribes extended even beyond the Mississippi. On the other side of the St. Lawrence, the Algonquins, the Killistenos or Knisteneaux, and others, speaking dialects of their language, prove their origin from the same stock. The Mengwe, on the contrary, were comparatively few, and occupied a much less portion of territory, being almost confined to the vicinity of the great lakes. But few tribes are known to be connected with them by descent and language; the principal ones are the Wyandots, otherwise called Hurons and the Naudowessies. Almost every other nation within the boundaries described, is of the Lenape family.

Each of these two great nations, say the Delawares, had an ancient national name, and a tradition of their respective origin, handed down to them by their ancestors, and diffused among all the kindred tribes. By whatsoever names those tribes might be called, and whatever their numbers were, still they considered themselves, and were considered by others, as the offspring of the same original stock. All the tribes who had sprung from the Lenape called the mother nation *grandfather*, and received, in return, the appellation of *grandchildren*. They were all united by the strongest ties of friendship and alliance; in their own expressive language, they made but *one house, one fire, and one canoe*, that is to say, that they constituted together one people, one family. The same thing took place between the Mengwe and the tribes descended from them. They and the Lenape had no relationship with each other, though they came over the Mississippi together at the same time. They considered each other as nations entirely distinct.

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The Mengwe or Iroquois were always considered by the Lenape as only one nation, consisting of several confederated tribes. The name of Five and afterwards Six Nations, was given to them by the English, whose allies

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

172 infusions of new complexes, probably in many cases associated with population movements which have acted to alter decidedly the tones and values of the cultural picture."[36] This does not mean, however, that there were extensive migrations into the area in recent times; the peoples of Delaware culture, on the contrary, had deep roots in the immediate vicinity. Migrations and the diffusion of cultural traits were important, but were not on the scale suggested by the Walam Olum or the oral traditions.

Traditional Origins

●173 Some investigators, on the basis of the Walam Olum or other Delaware traditions, have suggested that the Delawares were recent immigrants from other areas.[37] The archaeological and the linguistic evidence does not seem to warrant, however, the postulation of any extensive recent eastward or southward migration of Delawaran peoples. It appears that the traditional western origin cited by many investigators is based upon the accounts found in Heckewelder and Zeisberger.[38] To summarize these accounts, the Delawares hundreds of years ago lived on the western side of the Mississippi and for unknown reasons they slowly migrated east. The "Mengwe" (Iroquois) also took part in this eastward migration and united with the Delawares to fight the "Talligewi" or "Alligewi," who held the land east of the river. The invaders ultimately triumphed, but after living for some time in the east these two allies fell out and warred upon each other. The Iroquoian tribes, on the losing side in these battles, were forced to confederate during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A military stalemate followed until European contact was established, when the Dutch aided the Iroquois in making "women" of the Delawares.

The migration legend found in the Walam Olum (pictographic bark record of the Delawares) is similar to the one obtained by Zeisberger and Heckewelder. I have suggested elsewhere that the migration account of the Walam Olum was derived from the traditional legends, but that it was altered to suit the political circumstances of nineteenth-century Delaware life.[39] According to Brinton's translation of the Walam Olum, the origin of the Delawares was in the far northeast, "probably at Labrador." This legend recounts:

> [They] journeyed south and west, till they reached a broad water, full of islands and abounding in fish, perhaps the St. Lawrence about the Thousand Isles. They crossed and dwelt for some generations in the pine and hemlock regions of New York, fighting more or less with the Snake people, and the Talega, agricultural nations, living in stationary villages to the southeast of them, in the area of Ohio and Indiana. They drove out the former, but the latter remained on the upper Ohio and its branches. The Lenape, now settled on the streams in Indiana, wished to remove to the East to join the Mohegans and other

[36] Ritchie, 1944, p. 320.
[37] Kroeber, 1947, p. 93; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954, pp. 273-86.
[38] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 47-70; Zeisberger, 1871, pp. 32-36.
[39] Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[33] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 165-66.

[31] Newcomb, 1955, p. 63.

[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1902, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-32; Bolton, 1920, pp. 226-88; Swanton, 1952, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.

[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.

[text continues on p. 7]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

built in front of the opening before they go in and hot stones placed in the middle of the inclosed area. Not long after they have entered, they are covered with perspiration, then they crawl out and cool off, returning to repeat the same thing three or four times. Women have their own sweating ovens though they do not use them as commonly as do the men.[34]

Blood-letting and cupping are also in vogue among them. For blood-letting they use flint or glass. Of either they break off little fragments until a piece is secured that suits the purpose. This is fixed to a short stick, placed upon the artery and struck. In case of cupping, they open the skin with a knife, put a little calabash over the opening, burning birch-bast instead of a lamp.

The Delaware Nation, consisting of three tribes, the Unamis,[35] Wunalachticos[36] and Monsys,[37] formerly lived in the region about Philadelphia, also in Jersey about Trenton, Brunswick and Amboy. The Unamis are the chief people of the nation; their language, differing but little from that of the Wunalachtico, is the most melodious. The Monsy tongue is quite different, even though the three grew out of one parent language. The last named tribe lived in Minnissing[38] along the Delaware, behind the Blue Mountains.

Among Indians belonging to the Moravian Congregation on the Muskingum River there are some old people, who were in Philadelphia when the first houses were built there. They are able to relate how peaceably and agreeably the whites and Indians dwelt together, as if they had been one people, being ever ready each to serve the other. Even among the savages there are old people, who tell the following, as I have heard it from various individuals.

Before the whites had come into the land, there had been Indians who foretold that someone would come to them across the great sea. This they had repeated on various occasions in the hearing of other Indians, at the last even indicating the day when this should come to pass, the event making good their words. How these Indians could have foretold it, no one professes to know, the only explanation offered being that there

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

173 must have been vision or revelation. They had repeatedly looked out over the sea, until at last a vessel was sighted, when they had immediately summoned the Indians and said: "See, here comes some one to us, concerning whose coming we have long ago told you; the gods are coming to visit us." They worshipped them, regarding them as deities. When the whites landed, they gave the Indians knives, hatchets, muskets and various other things they knew not how to use and, consequently, carefully put away. On occasion of feasts or sacrifices they suspended the knives and hatchets from their necks as ornaments and worshipped the various articles, bringing sacrifices to them. The muskets they did not use except on special days, when to satisfy curiosity a few shots were fired and then sacrifices offered them. When the whites, after lapse of considerable time came again and saw that the things they had given were worn about the neck, they gave the Indians instructions in the use of the knife, hatchet and musket.

In those early days the manner of living of the Indians was very different from that of the present time, yet, though they were wretchedly equipped and could barely supply their wants, they succeeded in supporting life.[39] They planted corn, beans, pumpkins, which they had at that time. Their hoe was a bone from the shoulder blade of the deer, which is broad at one end and very narrow at the other. With this bound to a stick they worked the soil. A turtle-shell sharpened by means of a stone and similarly attached to a stick, served much the same purpose. A kind of tobacco known as Brazilian tobacco, they also had; to the present day this tobacco, which has but small leaves, is called Indian tobacco.

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Their knives were made of flint, not in the form of our knives but shaped like arrow-heads, i. e., triangular, quite thin and with the two larger sides sharp. With such knives they stripped off the skin of deer and other game.

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Their hatchets, also made of stone and about the length of a hand, smoothed and sharpened, were secured to a wooden handle. These were not used for splitting wood but only to kill trees, as no more is necessary than to chop through the bark, if this is done at the right time, or to peel off bast for covering

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

805 done until June. The name given to June signifies the month in which the deer become red. That of July, the time of raising the earth about the corn, and of August, Winu Gischuch, the time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast. September is called the first autumn month, October the harvest month, November the hunting month, most of the Indians going out to shoot bucks. The name December shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers. January is the month in which the ground squirrels come out of their holes, and February they call Squalle Gischuch, the month of frogs, the month when the frogs begin to croak, though this again does not usually occur until later. At the present time the most of them begin the year with the Europeans, if they have come into frequent contact with them.

559 They are well versed in their genealogies and are able to describe every branch of the family with the greatest precision. 601 They also add concerning the character of their forefathers, such an one was a wise and intelligent man, a great chief or captain or an Achewilens, that is a rich man and seems to signify as much as the word, gentleman, for the rich among them are highly respected. These make themselves prominent by giving the chiefs great quantities of wampum, when the chiefs are in need, and they are regarded as the main supports of the chiefs.

•173 Concerning remoter ancestors they know nothing more than that they were great warriors and accomplished many heroic deeds, that in the war with the Six Nations, when they still lived along the sea-coast, the former were unable to do them much harm and after attacks on Delaware towns had fled in such haste that the Delawares had not been able to catch them, though they had got to the mountains as swiftly as turkeys, that, however, in spite of the ability of the Six Nations to get away the Delawares had caught and killed many of their enemies. They, also, relate concerning their ancestors that the Six Nations regarded them as mighty magicians, feared them and at last concluded a peace with them in the manner already described. Further, they relate how in times past the Delawares made attacks on towns of the Cherokees and killed many of the inhabitants; how, on occasion, they visited them at night during the dance, mingled

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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with the dancers, and when the amusement was at its height killed many of them with short weapons they had concealed under their blankets, escaping, after the deed was done, before their treachery had been discovered.

The land was never formally divided among the nations, whatever region was settled by a nation was recognized as property of that nation, and no one disputed its title, until, in course of war, one nation overpowered another and drove it out of its territory. In such cases, however, the conquering nation did not always settle on the conquered territory; for example, the Moshkos drove the Shawanose from their land in Florida but did not themselves settle there, still living on the west side of the Ohio in the region of the Wabash. The Delawares conquered the territory in which they live, having been driven out of the region they once inhabited by the white people. The Wiondats adjudged this region as belonging to them; and the Kikapus have given them a district along the Wabash and bordering on the country they inhabit for the chase. A part of the Delaware nation has lived in the Wabash region these many years, and of those living here many go thither every year. The boundaries of Indian countries are fixed along rivers and creeks or in a straight line from one river to another or along the mountain ranges, where there are mountains.

Of the spherical form of the earth they have no conception. Some declare that the earth floats upon the sea and that an enormous tortoise bears it on its back. The sky, they say, rests upon the water probably because it appears so to do when they look out upon the sea. Others declare that there is a place where the sky strikes the earth, rises again and continues moving up and down, smiting a rock, which causes such a report that it may be heard many days' journey. Two great captains once visited that place, and one of them risked going through the opening when the sky rose. He succeeded in getting into heaven and coming back. Yet where this place is they know as little as they do the location of Tschipey Hacki, the land of the spirits. The sun, they think, sinks into the water when it sets. Thunder is a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains and sometimes issuing from their fastnesses suffers himself to be heard. Others imag-

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

ashes from the fire are always taken out at the west door, and the dirt is always swept in the fire. In front of the east door outside is a high pole on which venison hangs. It is a feast dance and the deacons distribute food among the people. The officers and waiters are paid in wampum for their services.

"In no case is a dog allowed to enter the temple, and no one is allowed to laugh inside it, or in any way be rude. Each person is allowed to speak and tell his dream or dreams or to give advice. It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit.

"Traditions say that 10 years before white men came to this country (America) a young man told his dream in the temple. This was on the Atlantic coast. He saw coming across the great waters a large canoe with pinions (wings) and containing strange people, and that in 10 years they would in fact come. He told this dream and predicted the arrival of the white men each year until they came and were seen by his people. Many of our people still keep up this dance, but the temple is not so large as it used to be, and the attendance now is not more than 100 persons. Any Indian of any tribe can also take part in the dance, but no white man can.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3] he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to it.[4]

The first hunt which the savages arrange in the spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they will that year have good luck in hunting and shooting.

They do, however, know a little historically about Christ, which they consider a fable. When the old savages are to tell the Christians what passed in former times, they say that it has been told them from times immemorial by their fathers and forefathers, who have said that it was, once in former time, one of our savage women who became pregnant by going and drinking in a brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any connection with her, yet she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. And when that one became somewhat large, something like this,—he measures with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of age or years. "Yes, that was a pólite[6] and clever

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Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh, polite.* Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh invention*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

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boy," they say. "His like will never come here again. He had so much to say that it was a great wonder and [he] performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air, up there," they say, and point to heaven. "He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again," they say. "Sometime after him," they said, "a large-mouth with large beard,[7] like your large mouths are," they said, and likened him to our pastors. "He also had much to say for a time.[8] That one also went up there, like the other one," and the [Indians] pointed to heaven. "He promised also," they said, "to come back here to us again, but he never came." And it must surely have been one of the apostles, for the word of God is true, which can never fail us:[9] *Euntes docete omnes Gentes*, etc.[10] So far they know of Christ and his apostles and can relate it from hearsay from their fathers and forefathers.

[7] *Stoort skägg*, large beard, *i.e.*, long beard. The long, thick beard of some of the pastors made a strong impression on the Indians who had seen nothing like it before.

[8] *Han hade och mycket af munnen en tijdh*. *Lit.* he had also much of the mouth for a time.

[9] Perhaps Lindeström refers to the belief prevalent in the middle ages and later, that the apostles had visited all continents and all countries, according to the injunction quoted in Latin from the New Testament.

[10] Go and teach all people. *Cf. Mark*, XVI, 15.

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